5 cents a copy
January 12, 1918

THE Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL FOUNDED 1870

"IF THERE'S ONE PLACE IN THE WORLD BILL, WHERE A MAN LEARNS THAT DEMOCRACY NEEDS WOMEN'S VOTES TOO, IT'S RIGHT HERE IN THE TRENCHES"

"Over There"

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THE WOMAN CITIZEN

Founded June 2, 1917

Continuing the

WOMAN'S JOURNAL

Founded 1870

By LUCY STONE *and* HENRY B. BLACKWELL

as a Weekly Newspaper Devoted to Winning Equal Rights and Especially to Winning Equal Suffrage for Women, and published weekly in Boston, Mass., from 1870 to 1917.

Continuing also the

WOMAN VOTER

Founded 1910

By the WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY OF NEW YORK CITY

and the

NATIONAL SUFFRAGE NEWS

Founded 1915

under the name of the "Headquarters News Letter." In succeeding the National Suffrage News, The Woman Citizen becomes the official organ of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and as such will try to maintain intimate contact between the Association and its two million members throughout the United States.

THE WOMAN CITIZEN is published weekly by the Woman Citizen Corporation in the hope that it may prove a self perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

The directors of the Corporation are Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells, and Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore.

The editorial offices are at 171 Madison Avenue, New York.

Alice Stone Blackwell is a special contributing editor.

Rose Young is the editor-in-chief.

Mary Ogden White, Mary Sumner Boyd, and Rose Lawless Geyer are associate editors.

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The Woman Citizen

171 Madison Avenue

New York

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A full report of the last lap of the campaign, including the news of Wednesday and the House proceedings on Thursday, will follow in the next number of the Woman Citizen. In that number, too, an effort will be made to do justice to the fine qualities of leadership that marked the work of Maud Wood Park, congressional committee chairman, in the handling of the acute stages of the campaign.

PROGRESS OF THE SUFFRAGE FEDERAL AMENDMENT

KNOWN IN THE

65TH CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES AS

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 2

and HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 1

Proposing an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States Conferring upon Women the Right of Suffrage.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several states as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said Legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE

"SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

History of Amendment

First introduced in the Senate, January 10, 1878, by Senator A. A. Sargent, of California.

REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE:

In the Senate:

1878, Adverse majority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1889, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1890, Without recommendation.
1893, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Without recommendation.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1916, Favorable majority.

VOTED UPON IN THE SENATE:

January 25, 1887, yeas 16, nays 34.
March 19, 1914, yeas 35, nays 34.

IN THE HOUSE REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE:

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.

VOTED UPON IN THE HOUSE:

January 12, 1915, yeas 174, nays 204.

Introduced in the 65th Congress

IN THE SENATE:

April 1917 (special session), by Senators Jones of New Mexico, Shafroth of Colorado, Owen of Oklahoma, Poindexter of Washington, and Thompson of Kansas.

IN THE HOUSE:

April 1917 (special session), by Representatives Raker of California, Rankin of Montana, Keating of Colorado, Taylor of Colorado, Hayden of Arizona, and Mondell of Wyoming.

Status:

IN THE SENATE:

Reported from Committee

September 13, every member of Committee approving.

IN THE HOUSE:

Raker resolution to create a woman suffrage committee in the House adopted by the House September 24 by a vote of 181 to 107.

House Joint Resolution No. 1 reported from Judiciary Dec. 15, 1917, without recommendation.

New identical resolution introduced in House by Judge Raker, Dec. 18, and referred to next Woman Suffrage Committee.

House Vote scheduled for Jan. 10, 1918.

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Third	*Premium*	-	*Cash 25.00*

See the January Fifth Number of the WOMAN CITIZEN, page 118, for full explanation under the heading

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The Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

A Journal of Democracy

January 12, 1918

"We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts — for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

NOTE TO SUBSCRIBERS

On account of military service, the coal situation and delay in mails, subscribers may expect some irregularity in the receipt of their copies of the **Woman Citizen.** It is being issued on schedule time in spite of power shortage in New York City.

In Advance of the Vote

AS the *Woman's Citizen* goes to press, one day before the House vote is taken on the federal suffrage amendment, every indication points to victory. Independent polls taken by newspaper correspondents and others show the two-thirds vote with plenty to spare. The difficulty that impended all during the campaign and came to a sharp focus during the last days was the group of Southerners who have all along put sectional tradition ahead of party interest and fundamental justice in the matter of suffrage. Their attitude has complicated the situation not only for suffrage, but for the party which harbors them.

Ensconced behind what the President said in 1914 about the state method, they have managed to let the progress of events pass them by. By the time this is read it will have been demonstrated whether or not their party was able, through its more progressive leaders, to find a way to help in carrying suffrage forward to victory in spite of the incubus of their presence. Or it may be that victory will have had to depend mainly on the Republicans. That they are to stand in mass formation for the amendment has seemed certain all week long.

One fact is as apparent in advance of the vote as it can be afterward. That is that suffrage has made tremendous headway in the House during the last two years. The House vote of 1915 polled 174 yes votes. Even if the passage of the amendment should be delayed as a result of Thursday's vote, inconceivable as that seems on Wednesday, suffrage will have won an incomparable victory. Votes will have been heaped on top of favorable sentiment and the way cleared for an immediate renewal of operations in a field where friend and foe have been lined up distinctively by the poll. We do not believe there will ever be another House vote on the federal amendment after Thursday. We know that, come what may, there will never be but one more.

Being Reverenced by Mr. Bailey of Texas

YOUR time and attention bespoken for an argument before the House Suffrage Committee on the constitutionality of the federal suffrage amendment, by a man with an alleged reputation as a constitutional lawyer, you might expect to hear from him some contribution to the ponderous thought of the times on that subject.

But if the constitutional lawyer were Mr. Bailey of Texas you wouldn't get your expects.

Instead you would hear Mr. Bailey set forth, in a voice rocking with emotion, that women are too emotional to be trusted with the vote, that they are incapable of the three principal duties of citizenship, military service, jury service, and sheriff service. You would hear him ask, "Gentlemen, do you want to add to the electorate ignorance rather than intelligence, darkness rather than light?" You would see him flinch before the possibility that the establishment of woman suffrage would mean the establishment of a single standard of morality. You would watch his front hair shake with feeling and his eyes roll reverently as he pictured his ideal woman as one always darning socks, making over John's coats for John Junior, washing the dishes, snatching a moment on the run to visit a sick neighbor—ah, there is the woman who can hope to engage Mr. Bailey's imagination, the woman whom he delighted to "reverence." What though she be of an order of creation and a degree of intelligence to lower the electorate by being admitted to it, is she not man's nurse and cook and dish-washer! She is, and as such she was blubbered over by Mr. Bailey until even the five or six Wadsworthians present looked a bit sick of their bargain, and you were left wondering how Mr. Bailey dared take people's time and attention with these vapid mouthings. How he dared insult women by his brand of reverence. And having a vote, you thanked God for it as a measure of protection from such reverence.

"The gentleman from Texas is forty years behind the times," said Mrs. Catt when her turn came. "I know I disappoint the gentleman—I am that thing he so greatly deplores—a woman voter. But I would rather have my vote than the reverence of the gentleman from Texas. The gentleman from Texas will use his vote to keep women from getting their votes; I shall use my vote, which is as big as Mr. Bailey's, to give the women of Texas and of all the rest of the country the freedom which the men of Texas have refused to give them."

A Comic Editor

EQUAL suffrage has had the support of most of the American humorists—Mark Twain, Mr. Dooley, Robert J. Burdette, Bill Nye, Will and Wallace Irwin, John Kendrick Bangs and many more. Perhaps it is because they could see how funny the arguments of the anti-suffragists really are. But the editor of one comic weekly is so vehement an opponent of equal rights that he is color blind in his inability to see what is humorous on this one subject—sometimes also in his inability to see what is tragic. A recent editorial illustrates both characteristics.

Intensely disgusted by the triumph of equal suffrage in New York, he vents his vexation in an article which is meant to be serious, but is unconsciously funny, and even ridiculous. He says:

"Suffrage has come with an industrial organization which has made it easy for women to avoid the rough jobs and dispense with men."

Suffrage in New York came at a time when women the world over were doing an unprecedented number of rough jobs of the kind usually done by men, in addition to the kind of rough jobs usually done by women. Even before the war, there were more than eight million wage-earning women and girls in the United States; and the government reports on their condition do not indicate that they led a soft and easy life. Even before the war, the census showed that there were about ten times as many families in the United States as there were persons employed in domestic service. Only about one family in ten could keep a servant, even if no family kept more than one. The vast majority of married women are doing their own housework and bringing up their children without domestic help—and they know whether that is a "soft snap."

This comic editor says: "There never was a time when so many women had so much money or could get so much for it as now." It is perhaps true that there were never before so many women with money, for the government returns show that since the war began there has sprung up in the United States a very large crop of new millionaires. But they are a mere drop in the bucket compared with the whole population. Perhaps there was never a time when millionaires could buy more luxuries with their money; but certainly there was never a time when so many women—and men, too—were finding it desperately hard to make both ends meet. Ask any woman who goes to market how much she can get for her money!

This editor says: "When you speak in the telephone and someone fetches you a load of coal, and someone else your dinner, and someone else a cab to take you out, life seems easily managed." It is both funny and tragic that this should have come out right in the middle of a coal famine! How many women have merely had to telephone for coal, compared with those who could not get it?

The editor says that most of the suffrage leaders are rich women who, having everything else they wanted, coveted political power. Out of the thousands of women who gave their services as precinct captains during the arduous campaign in New York State, how many belong to the small class that need only to press a button? "It is to laugh."

The two women most prominent to-day in the National Suffrage Association both of them began poor—and when they ceased to be poor, they continued to "remember those in bonds as bound with them." They have toiled in this cause like slaves, rising early and going to bed late, sacrificing their health, and very nearly their lives; not for political power—each of them had abilities that would have commanded ample political power through "indirect influence"—but for the sake of less fortunate women, and of the whole world's welfare, which is bound up with the well-being of women and children. The women who undertook to carry the Empire State for equal suffrage tackled no soft job. In all probalility it was a tougher one than this editor of a comic weekly ever faced in his life; and his irritation is because they succeeded in putting it through. A. S. B.

The 25th Suffrage Victory

SUFFRAGISTS counted on the passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment on January 10 to make the 25th legislative suffrage victory scored during the twelve-month between January 10, 1917, and January 10, 1918.

These victories reach across Canada to Great Britain and, in the United States, included House and Senate action on the presidential and local suffrage bill in North Dakota; the action of both houses of the Legislatures of Ohio on presidential suffrage; Nebraska, on presidential and local suffrage; Indiana, "nine-tenths full suffrage"; Maine, referendum; New York, referendum; Arkansas, primary suffrage; Vermont, municipal suffrage; Michigan, presidential suffrage; Rhode Island, presidential, and Ontario, Canada, provincial suffrage.

Add to these the passage of Dominion suffrage by the Canadian Parliament and the victory for the woman suffrage clause in Great Britain's Representation of the People Bill.

The 24th victory was won when the House voted on September 24th, 181 to 107, to create a woman suffrage committee.

The 25th legislative victory was due on January 10 when the House voted on the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

Will Not Be the Goat

AMONG the holiday greetings received by the present writer was an original rhyme from a woman voter of the West who is spending the winter in the national capital. The first stanza reads:

"O Alice dear; and did you hear
The women soon will vote?
For the elephant and the donkey both
Refuse to be the goat."

This expresses an aspect of the political situation which is telling powerfully in the women's favor. Every sincere member of Congress believes that the success of his party would be for the good of the country; and every clear-headed member realizes that it would be likely to have a bad effect on his party's

future prospects to let the opposite party get the main credit of enfranchising the women.

Friends and opponents of equal suffrage alike know that it is coming; and when it comes the women will constitute almost half of the potential voting strength of the country. Every man who honestly believes in the merits of his own party would like to have it secure as large a proportion as possible of the gratitude of the new voters; and nobody can tolerate the idea of letting the opposite party secure it all. A. S. B.

The Voice of New York

GOVERNOR CHARLES S. WHITMAN will see that immediate action is taken to enable his fellow citizens who have been recently enfranchised to vote. In his speech at the opening of the Legislature of 1918, he specifically recommended the enactment of laws to permit the newly enfranchised women to register so that they may vote at the spring elections, including local option elections in cities, and their enrolment so that they may participate in next fall's primaries.

This was a prime recommendation to take precedence in his opinion of other legislative matters. In addition, Governor Whitman telegraphed Mrs. Catt at Washington his personal conviction that the "Federal Amendment providing for equal suffrage should be passed, and that in the event of its passage" he believed that it would be "ratified by at least three-fourths of the states." It was also Governor Whitman's conviction that the adoption of full suffrage in New York State by an overwhelming majority was a sufficient indication that New York Congressmen should support the measure.

In other words, Governor Whitman showed clearly that he believes that the voice of the people in New York State is sufficiently clear on this matter of woman suffrage to make it evident that the Empire State will now back up every advance made by Congress for the furtherance of the complete political liberty of American women.

North Dakota Women Vote

THE right of the women of North Dakota to participate in municipal elections is established. On December 27 women of Bismarck voted in the municipal election of that city. this being the first time the women have voted in that state in a municipal election since the legislature of last year granted them the right of presidential and municipal suffrage.

The initiative and referendum maintains in North Dakota and when the legislature granted women their limited franchise the opponents of suffrage said they would invoke the referendum and annul the new law. The number of signatures needed was very small, little more than 10,000, but the opposition has nowhere touched that number.

North Dakota has had time to think it all over and from press reports on the women's voting it would seem that there will be no opposition. The vote came when North Dakota was in the grip of a cold wave which made New York's temperature seem like furnace heat in comparison. Therefore the proportion of first woman voters was creditable.

Miss Hay's Great Epigram

MISS MARY GARRETT HAY has recently made one of those epigrammatic statements which sink into a nation's speech and are quoted far and wide when she said to the women of the City Suffrage Party assembled in New York for their first convention as citizens: "Let us change the adage 'Every man has his price' into 'Every woman has her principle.'"

She did not claim this as an achieved fact. Her epigram was, in fact, part of her warning to her fellows of the new woman electorate of New York State not to let themselves be unconsciously bribed.

"We must teach women to recognize a bribe when it is offered," she said. "There are so many subtle ways of exerting political pressure on a voter that many new and unsophisticated voters may not realize until it is too late that their votes have been cleverly manipulated to the advantage of the manipulator. Let us spread practical information that will warn women against such practices."

Miss Hay has been affectionately styled "the big boss"; and she is showing something new in bossism, a keen sense of the political leader's responsibility to guard and warn her followers against even the more subtle and unconscious forms of political jobbery. Moreover, this "boss" has not stopped at warning; she is going to see to it that women in New York City are so educated and grounded in the principles of good government that they can not become the unconscious dupes of any leader.

If Miss Hay can accomplish what she has planned every woman in New York City will not only have her principle, but she will have it buttressed by intelligent reasoning. Given such an ideal and such an education for the women of the nation, the entrance of women into the voting ranks will help make America safe for democracy. May Miss Hay's great epigram gain emphasis as it spreads.

Mr. Blanton's Sister

AFTER listening earnestly at the suffrage hearing to the insistence of one of the Wadsworthians that women don't need the vote because men have it, Representative Blanton, of Texas, still earnestly, wanted to know what about the case of a woman like his sister, a woman whose intelligence has placed her at the head of the teachers of Texas, but whose property is subject to taxation without representation.

Didn't he represent her, the Wadsworthian wanted to know.

No, he didn't, and couldn't, as he lived in a different district.

It was Mr. Bailey, of Texas, who rose to elucidate the point. If Mr. Blanton didn't represent his sister, some other man did, so she was represented. Perhaps not by the person she would have voted for if she had been allowed to vote, perhaps by the very person of all persons for whom she would not have voted if she had been allowed to vote. Still, in the view of the one-time Senator from Texas, that passed for representation, and Mr. Blanton's sister's interests were as well taken care of as any woman could ask.

It is a wonderful thing to be a constitutional lawyer.

First Convention of Women Citizens

OF all the glad New Year, the maddest, merriest day so far for the New York City Woman Suffrage Party, was January 2d, when it met in Annual Convention at the Hotel Astor.

This convention marked a memorable milestone in the political history of New York State. This was the first gathering of women as citizens, the act of the voters of New York in conferring full citizenship upon the women having become effective January 1. Appreciating its added responsibilities, New York City's new electorate has projected a most vigorous program of education for citizenship to be carried out during the next few months. The four cardinal points in the suffrage compass for 1918 will be:

a—The passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment and its ratification by the State Legislature.

b—The instruction of the members of the Party in matters of municipal and state government, and in points necessary to make intelligent voters.

c—To insure through personal effort of election district captains, the largest possible registration of women voters during registry week next October, and to get out a correspondingly large vote on election day in November.

d—A constructive legislative program.

THIS tremendous plan of work will be carried out through the general direction of the central committees, known as the Political (including Congressional and Legislative), Educational, or Council of Women Voters, and Civic Survey. An additional committee designed to keep very closely in touch with the doings of the City Government, especially the Board of Estimate and Apportionment, and the various measures under consideration, will be known as the Men and Measures Committee.

Education for Citizenship

A COMPREHENSIVE program of education for citizenship has been outlined through lectures and classes. Special attention will be given to forming classes for the young women working in factories and stores. It was reported that already these young women have been making inquiries and showing the keenest interest in this educational work. No discrimination has been raised against men entering the classes which will be formed in the various assembly districts. In the Bronx it was reported the men are eager to take part in this movement which is attracting such wide attention throughout the country. Each assembly district is expecting a good representation of men in the classes.

What might be called a climax to the program of education will be the Friday night "quizzes" at central headquarters when politicians of all political creeds will be present to be quizzed as to government—municipal, state, and national—as well as to give talks.

It was agreed at the convention that no more important work confronts the City Party than the work of Americanization. With 200,000 foreign-born women in New York City, who have become citizens because their husbands have been naturalized or are citizens, one may judge of the scope this work must take to be effective, especially when one realizes that many of these women cannot speak English.

"PRACTICAL" is the key word of the whole City Party program, and practical to the last word will be the survey which will be made of each Assembly district to ascertain its resources, its institutions, how its officials perform their duties, in fact, the most minute scrutiny will be trained on the district, treating it as a miniature city. Records of candidates for office will be given attention.

All this work will be made the more effective because as an organization the New York City Woman Suffrage Party will remain a non-partisan body. Fully realizing the ineffectiveness of any attempt to control its more than an half million women members, the leaders of the organization make no ruling that all should be kept from aligning themselves with political parties, but it has recommended that officers refrain from aligning themselves with political parties or partisan measures until the merits of the same shall have been fully weighed.

Legislation at Albany will receive close scrutiny and that which tends to equalize the rights of men and women in cases where men are now favored will be given special attention. Laws pertaining to woman's labor, to education, to health, and all similar measures will be of immediate concern.

JUSTICE GUY

The spirit that permeated the whole gathering was put into words when Supreme Court Justice Charles L. Guy made an eloquent plea to the suffragists of New York to keep pressing forward. "Do not rest until every American woman is made a full citizen of the United States," said Justice Guy. "You have won a victory, but there must be no pausing until the big goal of political freedom for all women is attained." For twenty-five years Justice Guy has stood staunchly by the suffragists of New York, and in their hour of great triumph he now sees opportunity for wider, greater service.

Economical Politicians

A report heard with much interest was that of the treasurer, who gave the total receipts for the period, January 20, 1917, to December 20, 1917, as $33,752.18. The total expenditures for the same period were $33,302.87.

All-For-America Plans

AFTER a rousing discussion and the putting of many involved questions, it was voted to urge the passage of Congressman Jeannette Rankin's bill which provides that American women married to aliens may retain their citizenship. The motion was passed with much enthusiasm. "Once an American woman, always an American woman," was the keynote of the discussion.

In the midst of all this planning for citizenship the Party did not for one moment forget its war service work, pledging itself anew to the work outlined by the Government. Active work in behalf of the Thrift Saving Stamps was a specific matter receiving endorsement. The war service work will continue to be one of the main avenues of activity.

As this was the first gathering of the City Party since the soldier and sailor vote was officially canvassed, it naturally took on the note of a jubilee. The fact that this vote went two to one for suffrage was the cause of unbounded satisfaction to the convention.

Miss Mary Garrett Hay, chairman of the

(*Continued on following page*)

City Party, who led suffrage to victory on November 6 in the city of New York, devoted a part of her address to the soldier vote saying:

"One of the most gratifying things we have to remember is the generous soldier vote cast for our cause. The total soldier vote in New York City was 26,211. Of this 8,858 votes were cast against the Suffrage Amendment and 17,353 were cast in favor of the Amendment, making a majority for suffrage of 8,495. This makes almost a two to one vote for the amendment.

"THE National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage has said, in a printed leaflet circulated among Congressmen in Washington, 'Woman suffrage was carried in New York City by pro-Germans, pacifists and Socialists.' This leaflet was printed before the soldier vote for suffrage was taken. The almost two to one proportion of the soldier vote for suffrage answers the anti assertions. The suffrage women, yes, all American women of this city, are standing with the Government and for 'our boys' who are to uphold our democratic ideals before the whole world. The soldiers realized this and cast their votes to help the women to work and vote for democracy at home, while the men are fighting for it abroad."

A tribute to the soldier vote was paid by the Borough Chairmen. In several instances they reported that the soldier vote had the honor of putting the Assembly District in the victory column. Mrs. Charles L. Tiffany spoke for the Borough of Manhattan, Mrs. Edward H. Dreier for the Borough of Brooklyn, Mrs. Daniel Appleton Palmer for the Borough of the Bronx, Mrs. David Rodger for the Borough of Queens and Mrs. William G. Willcox for the Borough of Richmond.

"Every Woman Has Her Principle"

IN regard to what may be expected with the addition of 700,000 women to the electorate, Miss Hay said, "What our voting sisters of the West have done with the ballot justifies us in the belief that woman's vote will make for civic betterment in the future. We cannot expect a change at once nor do we believe that women will bring the millennium. We do believe that steadily and surely women will lift politics in our city to a higher plane.

"We must teach women to recognize a bribe when it is offered. There are so many subtle ways of exerting political pressure on a voter that many new and unsophisticated voters may not realize until it is too late that their votes have been cleverly manipulated to the advantage of the manipulator. Let us spread practical information which will warn women against such practices. Let us change the old adage 'Every man has his price' to 'Every woman has her principles.' Our ideal is to rouse a civic conscience in each woman voter, to make her feel a personal responsibility for conditions in her own district, in her city, and to train her in the practical procedure necessary to make improvements or effect changes."

THE anti-suffrage shibboleth that the pro-German vote was responsible for the suffrage victory was given another blow when Mr. Frederick Tanner, at the evening session, gave his address, warmly endorsing the Federal Amendment. "It has been said that the women were carried through to victory by the socialistic vote and by the strong pro-German feeling. The analysis of the soldier vote sets this subject at rest. The soldier vote on the suffrage amendment was two to one in its favor, or a far higher percentage than the civilian vote. I do not feel disposed to question the patriotism of any man who will offer his body as a sacrifice to German shells." Mr. Tanner's audience was with him when he added. "What is good enough for him is good enough for me when the bogie of pro-Germanism and socialism is raised."

MR. FREDERICK C. TANNER

Former Chairman of the Republican State Committee

"The principles of a strong centralized government as opposed to the states' rights theory has been a doctrine of the Republican Party since the days of Alexander Hamilton," said Mr. Tanner. "I am not sure that our Democratic friends have not borrowed a plank from our platform. We have Federal food control, Federal fuel control, Federal railroad control and the end is not yet. The party or the men who, on the subject of Federal suffrage, are trying to reverse historical precedent, are rowing against the current and will be defeated. No matter what demerits the granting of equal suffrage may have, it has the positive and undeniable merit of being in line with the form of government on which this country is founded, in which it established itself by the Civil War and for which it has sent hundreds of thousands of its young men to the battle fields of Europe."

The New York suffrage victory has been hailed far and wide as the most momentous victory in the history of the suffrage cause, and something of the tremendous responsibility which must necessarily go with all this was shown as the leaders of the New York City Party told of the aims and hopes of the organization not for themselves, not for the city or state, but for the women in every state. It remained for Justice of the Supreme Court Charles L. Guy, to put it in words in a way that will not be soon forgotten by the seven hundred women assembled.

For twenty-five years Judge Guy has been aiding the women in their struggle for suffrage, and his address was an eloquent appeal for them to keep pressing forward until the great goal—enfranchisement for all women—was reached.

"This great cause will fail to achieve its true end if you halt now for feasting and rejoicing," said Justice Guy. "It was the determination of your leaders two years ago to keep pressing on that made the victory of November possible. So long as there is a single woman in any state who is denied equal opportunity, equal pay, equal freedom, you have no right to halt, no right until you have brought your sisters in the other states that political freedom which you now enjoy. See to it that every sane American woman has a right to a voice in the government. Be true to the great principle for which you have labored. Women of New York, to your own selves be true."

The Home of the Woman Suffrage Party of New York City

ONE feature of the first convention of the New York City Woman Suffrage Party since its members became enfranchised citizens was the unabated interest shown by those present.

There was no fatigue nor lassitude evident. There was no dropping off in attendance. There was no failure of committees to act. There are some significant new names, such as the Council of Women Voters instead of the old Educational Committee, but the grand old mansion where the party's officers are housed is bursting with activity just as it did when the party was housed in its smaller offices.

SUFFRAGISTS casting an anxious glance along East Thirty-fourth street in search of the familiar blue, white and gold banner of the Woman Suffrage Party of New York City will be comforted to know that the beloved flag now flutters in the breeze at the association's new domicile, 3 E. Thirty-eighth street. Under pain of having their abode pulled down about their ears, the suffragists were obliged to add

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Hearings Before the Ho

Special Washington Correspondence

WASHINGTON knows its times of tension and suffragists know tense times, but when the question is a House vote on Woman Suffrage, Washington and suffragists are gripped together in an interest that fairly snaps the breath. This was the combination in evidence in Washington for the week prior to the House vote on the Federal Suffrage Amendment on January 10th. The *Woman Citizen*, alas, must go to press the day before the vote is taken, but we can and will follow the story up to the moment the printing press shuts down on us.

Never was there a story better worth following. From the time Mrs. Catt reached Washington, some days before the reopening of Congress, there was a drive of political activity such as even suffragists have seldom come through alive. There were hearings galore before the Woman Suffrage Committee, there was caucusing, there were women delegations from this state and that visiting their representatives, there were conferences with the nation's leaders, there were arguments, there were conversions. And all the while the party whips were on the watch, and daily it became more evident that woman suffrage had become an issue on which neither of the dominant parties could allow the other to score with impunity.

Nobody can ever accuse Judge Raker, the chairman of the Woman Suffrage Committee, of stinting hearings before his committee. He let everybody talk and talk to a finish. He heard the National American Woman Suffrage Association on January 3; Mr. Everett P. Wheeler and a gray-haired confrere, on January 4; the Wadsworthians on the morning of January 5, and the National Woman's Party in the afternoon of that day.

THE House Committee on Woman Suffrage, of which Representative Raker of California, is chairman, held the first of a series of hearings on the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment on January 3rd. This entire hearing was given to the National American Woman Suffrage Association, of which Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt is president. There was another hearing at which members of the Woman's Party spoke, on January 4th, and on January 5th, the Wadsworthians were heard.

The National American Woman Suffrage Association hearings were conducted by Mrs. Maud Wood Park, congressional chairman for the National Association, and the speakers were:

Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, honorary president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and chairman of the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense, who answered the charge that the suffrage movement is "pro-German, pacifist and socialistic."

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the Association, replied to Representative Webb of North Carolina, on the basis of his own speech against the state rights argument as applied to prohibition.

Mrs. Travis Whitney of New York, state congressional chairman for the National Association, replied to Mrs. James W. Wadsworth, president of the Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

Mrs. Guilford Dudley of Nashville, Tenn., president of the Tennessee Equal Suffrage Association and member of the executive board of the National, told why Southern women want suffrage by Federal amendment.

Mrs. Henry Ware Allen, of Wichita, Kan., where women vote, showed why the enfranchised women want Congress to pass the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment.

The hearing was held in the caucus room on the third floor of the House Office Building, and aroused unusual interest.

The Suffrage Amendment and the Prohibition Amendment

THAT the Federal Woman Suffrage amendment stands a better chance of ratification in the legislatures of the several states than the prohibition amendment, was asserted by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association at the hearing before the House Woman Suffrage Committee last week.

"It is commonly claimed," said Mrs. Catt, "that prohibition represents a stronger public sentiment in the nation than woman suffrage, because twenty-seven states are classed as prohibition states, while there are only twelve full suffrage states. The facts are that there are twelve full suffrage states and twelve prohibition states of equal history. There are nine prohibition states by statute, four by statute with referendum and two which gave prohibition a trial and then adopted an amendment. There are, therefore, fifteen states which secured the right to be called prohibition states by methods not open to the question of woman suffrage. Women cannot get the vote by statute nor by statute with referendum.

"These two questions of proposed reform appeared in our country about the same time. They have not been supported by the same groups nor made the same appeal, although many persons have advocated both reforms. A conscientious comparison of the progress made by them with the provisions of the laws and constitutions taken into account will prove to any investigator that woman suffrage has made greater gain, for it has made the race with the continual handicap of preventing legal obstructions.

"IOWA has for many years been classed as a prohibitory state and now has a statutory prohibition law, but it has just rejected a constitutional amendment. The same state by the vote of the same classes rejected woman suffrage two years ago. The sentiment for woman suffrage is, I believe, as strong as for prohibition, yet the law exists for prohibition and is constitutionally impossible for woman suffrage.

"NEW MEXICO offers an especially curious discrimination against a fair chance for woman suffrage. The constitution of that state provides two methods of amending. The process prescribed for suffrage amendments is that an amendment must first secure a three-fourths vote of the total membership of the two houses of the Legislature and on referendum, three-fourths of the highest number of electors voting in the whole state, and at least two-thirds of the total voting in each county. In those states wherein a majority of the votes cast at an election instead of a majority cast on an amendment is necessary to secure its adoption, the amendment of the constitution is extremely difficult, and a three-fourths vote would render amendment utterly impossible. Yet New Mexico has just adopted a constitutional amendment establishing prohibition. The reason is that such classes of amendment need only to secure a majority of the membership of each of the two houses of the Legislature and on referendum a mapority of the electors voting on the proposition. Here is a case where the same constitution provided a fairly easy method for the prohibition amendment and an impossible one for woman suffrage. Such discriminations fill suffragists with maddening indignation.

"SUFFRAGISTS now ask for an equal chance with prohibition, an equal chance with the women of our allied and our enemy nations.

"They are justified in expecting that every member of Congress who voted to send the prohibition question to the legislatures will vote to give the woman suffrage question the same chance and that, too, without regard to his personal views on the merits of the question. It is, as Mr. Webb has so ably pointed out, only a referendum to the legislatures that they ask.

"They are justified, too, in expecting that many men who believe that prohibition is not properly a question to be included in the national constitution, will vote to send woman suffrage to the legislatures because it is undeniably a constitutional question."

Governor Whitman to Mrs. Catt

"I BELIEVE that the proposed Federal amendment providing for equal suffrage should be passed, and I believe, too, in the event of its passage, that it will be ratified by at least three-quarters of the states. The State of New York, by an overwhelming majority, has given the vote to its women, and I think that it is the wish of our people that our representatives in Congress should support this measure.

CHARLS S. WHITMAN."

The Orderly Method

MRS. CATT found a prime argument for the Federal Suffrage Amendment in Representative E. Y. Webb's argument for Federal action on the prohibition amendment. Mrs. Catt said:

"Mr. Webb has not yet announced his conversion to woman suffrage, but he cannot oppose the Federal Amendment upon the ground of state rights, for he could not defend such position against his own speech. His plea was so modern, progressive and appealing, that it will make his children and his children's children proud. In fact, he has quite demolished the doctrine of state rights in so far as it may be used to block the progress of questions national in character.

...use Suffrage Committee

"Said he: 'This is not a prohibition vote. It is a question of referendum. . . . Will you balk on submitting to states of the nation this great question? . . . Are you afraid to trust the states? The states made the constitution, reserving to themselves the right to amend it and that is when two-thirds of both Houses of Congress deem it necessary that an amendment should be submitted. I submit to you, gentlemen, . . . that you should be willing to stand by your states in giving them the opportunity to amend the greatest instrument ever struck off by the pen of man and submit to the forty-eight sovereign states the question. . . . There is no question of state rights in this proposition; it is the right whether or not they shall vote to amend the constitution. That is a sovereign right of which they should not be deprived and which they provided for in that great instrument. If three-fourths of the states say that the manufacture and sale of liquor for beverage purposes should be stopped, then it is the highest sovereign prerogative left for the states to say that, and there is absolutely no violation of state rights when that question is submitted to them in that way.'

"MR. WEBB also said: 'I have in my possession petitions . . . 500,000 of whom are among the best women in the world, sent me by Miss Anna Gordon, the head of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. Why not give them a chance? If the states do not want to adopt it, you (wet) men are not hurt; if they want to adopt it, it certainly is your duty to submit it to them, because that is the only way in which they can change their constitution; and as Senator Blair said long years ago, if you do not allow the people of this Republic to amend their constitution, when they want to, it breeds revolution. It is the orderly way to amend that sacred docment.'

"The Woman's Christian Temperance Union," continued Mrs. Catt, "is an important body of intelligent, earnest, sincere women. Their wishes are worthy of respect and consideration. Since their petition has helped to persuade Mr. Webb that there is public sentiment enough to overcome state rights and to warrant national action on prohibition, he, and those who think with him, will also agree that the wishes of this same body of women on woman suffrage are equally compelling. No one would be guilty of such loose thinking as to believe that the petition of a group of citizens is logical and worthy of consideration when the object of its appeal is in accord with his views and that the petition of the same group fails in logic and worth when it differs from his views.

"THE Woman's Christian Temperance Union at its annual convention, held in Washington, D. C., composed of nearly 1,000 delegates, passed on December 5th, 1917, by unanimous vote, without a single speech being made against it, the following resolution:

> "'We urge united effort for the submission of the Federal Amendment to the Constitution, granting suffrage to women on equal terms with men and the continuance of every effort in state-wide campaigns for partial or full suffrage for women.'

"These women number many millions and are 'the best in the world.' No nation and no generation ever produced better. 'Why not give them a chance' as Mr. Webb proposes?"

Men Only Half the People

THE liveliest time of the hearing came when Mrs. Catt, having finished what she called her little disquisition of state rights, dedicated to Mr. Webb, took up the committee's questions and answered them. Some of the committee's questions were asked with the friendliest of intentions to bring out the case for suffrage. Others were asked in the stolid routine of the mind that is still wondering why the woman question can't be settled by a referendum to the women, still wondering what there is in the vote that appeals so strongly to women, still wondering why suffragists won't allow the question to be settled by state referenda instead of by Federal Amendment.

Colonel Roosevelt Urges Federal Amendment

"AS a matter of justice and of common sense the nation should no longer delay to give woman suffrage," wrote Col. Roosevelt in a letter to William R. Willcox, chairman of the Republican National Committee, on January 3. Two things were earnestly urged by Col. Roosevelt in the letter: first, that the Republican Party, as a party, urge the Republican Representatives to vote for the Federal Amendment, and, second, that an immediate addition of a woman member from every suffrage state be made to the Republican National Committee.

The reason that suffragists oppose submitting the question to women is because it is neither legal nor constitutional, Mrs. Catt pointed out. "And when you say submit it to the people, it cannot be done, for in no state in the Union are women people, so it can only be submitted to men, who are half the people. It is manifestly unjust to submit a question which concerns one-half the people to the other half, and that is the reason why we do not want state referenda. On the other hand, if you submit the question to both men and women, which would be democratic, it would be neither legal nor constitutional, except where women have it, and where, consequently, there is no need for submitting it."

It was Mr. Frank Clark, of Florida, a pleasant anti, who was inclined to be insistent about the referendum to women, and, more particularly, about getting Mrs. Catt on record as opposed to it. If there were some way by which the question could be submitted, through a primary, to the women of the country, would Mrs. Catt still object to that way of disposing of the disturbing question?

Mrs. Catt: I certainly would, but not because they would not give a majority for it, not at all.

"NOT because I think they would not go for it, because I know they would, but because it is not legal and it only postpones the time. In the state of New York, where people talked as you do and had honest feelings about it, the women went from house to house, from farm to farm, and climbed up the stairs of tenement houses, and asked the women whether they would ask the fathers to vote for it, and one million, fifteen thousand of the women did. There is not any question about a majority of the women wanting it; there is not any question about that. But why should we do something in the United States that no other country has done and that our own country has done for no class of men? Why should women, who are now intelligent, graduates of our high schools and our colleges, taxpayers by the billions, and all that sort of thing, be singled out for the purpose of making a test that no other class of men have ever had in our own country and no class of women in any other country? (Applause.) That is why we object.

Mr. Clark: But the fact is you do object. I wanted to bring that out.

Mrs. Catt: We object to every kind of discrimination against us.

(Applause.)

Mr. Clark: In other words, you think it would be discriminating against the women to get the views of the women?

Mrs. Catt: No, I do not, but what I do think is that when the Federal Amendment goes through it will be ratified by the spring of 1919; that is what I think, and I think if you are going to have a vote as to whether the women want it or not, you are going to put the states, first, to the expense of registering the women, for the purpose of finding out whether they are Americans or not; you are going to go through all the paraphernalia of an election, you are going to put the suffragists to the expense of running a campaign to get the women out to vote for their own question, and all that, and in doing that you have postponed ratification. That is what I mean, and when you get all through, you have nothing that is legal, and it does not mean anything. That is why we object to it. It seems to me so foolish to do a thing that is entirely unnecessary, and all that you suggest, it seems to me, would be unnecessary in view of the fact that the vote is a liberty; whether it is a right, a privilege, or whatever it may be called, it certainly is a liberty; it is a liberty extended; it is not a compulsion; there is nothing compulsory about it. No Member of Congress is obliged to vote, but he has the liberty of voting. And so it is with our foreign men; we give them the liberty of voting; they do not have to do it, but we have opened the door to them.

Mr. Clark: There is no question now as to the intelligence of women or anything of that sort, but just what particular hardship or what particular injustice to women will be righted or what will they get under the laws of the country if women are given the vote which they do not get now?

Mrs. Catt: Well, Mr. Member of the Committee, in the first place, let me ask, Yankee fashion, another question: Do you value your vote because of something you are getting from it, or is it a weapon in your hand all the time to protect your interests in the country and get what you want when it comes time? You can-

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Dr. Shaw Denies Pacifist Charges

DR. SHAW said that the opposition to the Federal Amendment had reduced itself to the statement that the extension of suffrage at this time to a large body of inexperienced voters, endowed with a sympathy for human suffering, would tend to weaken the prosecution of the war and lead to ill-advised peace.

"It is undoubtedly true," said Dr. Shaw, "that the majority of women are endowed by nature with great sympathy with human suffering, but it is also true that they are endowed with intelligence and knowledge which combine to show them that in the present war greater suffering would result from an ill-advised peace than from such a termination of hostilities as would make it forever impossible that like suffering should visit the world again. Therefore, on the basis of human sympathy, they would be opposed to an ill-advised peace.

"THE charge that the majority of women are pacifists in the sense in which that word is used at the present time is absolutely disproved not alone in the countries of our allies, but in our own country by the zeal with which women have thrown themselves into war service. The first national woman's organization which, through its representatives, presented a definite plan of war work to the Government, even before war was declared, was the National American Woman Suffrage Association with its 2,000,000 patriotic, loyal members. Then followed in rapid succession other bodies of women. It is no overstatement to say that where one man has offered voluntarily to enlist, ten women have offered for active war work in the field in which women can serve the Government, and that there are at present several millions of women engaged in the Red Cross, War Relief Societies, munitions factories, Government service, nursing, as well as in civic life, where they are taking the places of men who have entered the army. They are serving their country, while thousands more are preparing themselves for the service so that just as soon as the country calls more men to the army, they can fill vacancies and carry on the work of providing the army with the equipment of war.

"IF we need a more definite statement of this point, we need only to turn to the last election in Canada, which hinged entirely upon conscription, and was carried by the votes of Canadian women, without which the Government would have been defeated and conscription would have failed.

"When we find the services of women recognized by the Governments of Great Britain, France, and Canada, and even by Austria, it is a clear indication that the loyalty of American women, measured not only during the war, but in every emergency in our country's history, demands that at this time the Government shall recognize the services of its women. Because of the great need of woman power in the country, there should be no longer any delay in granting to the 2,000,000 of women who have been striving for our enfranchisement for years, that freedom which will enable them to give their undivided attention and energy and service to the demands of their country."

Signed "Pershing"

A CABLEGRAM received at the War Department for Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, Chairman Woman's Committee, Council of National Defense, shows what the American army in France thinks of the woman power of America:

"All ranks of the American Expeditionary Force unite in heartfelt thanks to the women of America for their love and their prayers. The patriotism of our incomparable women, than whom there are no others more noble, shall be our constant inspiration until the great capital task which has been entrusted to us shall be accomplished. Accept our best wishes for the coming year and our firm confidence in our final success.—PERSHING."

Secretary Baker Is for the Federal Amendment

The Secretary of War, Newton D. Baker, has written to Judge Raker, as chairman of the House Woman Suffrage Committee, to say that while he does not feel free to speak officially, he has no objection to its being known that "I personally favor the passage of the resolution submitting the amendment as provided by the constitution."

Southern Suffragists Roused Over Slacker Vote

PROBABLY no women in the country have a general heritage of oratorical and political ability greater than that of the Southern women. They are the daughters of their fathers, and they have been proving it picturesquely as they have stepped forward into the front ranks of the workers for the Federal Suffrage Amendment. They long since left Southern men behind them in their abandonment of the state rights' tradition, and in behalf of the Federal route for suffrage they can put up the cleanest-cut argument, in the most ingratiating and convincing way, known to charm and logic.

Besides the Southern women living in Washington who work with the congressional forces of the National Suffrage Association, Kentucky, Virginia, Tennessee, Texas and other states sent their brilliant society leaders, club women and professional women to present the question to their representatives in Washington this week.

The dangerous possibilities inherent in the slacker vote, the ignorant vote and the alien vote received special attention in the arguments of the Southern women.

Mrs. Cordelia Powell Odenheimer, past-president-general of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, one of the Southern women of the Capital who declared her acute interest in the passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, said: "With this country at war, it seems to me a very dangerous thing to leave American women, and particularly Southern women, unenfranchised. In the South the undesirable vote is very large. But the number of white women in the South—educated women of pure

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The Mother Thought Is Needed in World Councils

MRS. HENRY WARE ALLEN, of Wichita, Kansas, a state where women vote, at the hearing before the House Suffrage Committee on the federal woman suffrage amendment, said in part:

"Can you gentlemen realize what it means to women to feel that the men with whom they spend their lives are chivalrous enough, and have faith enough in their intelligence and integrity to recognize them as political equals? Can you not see that men and women under such conditions are firmer friends, more devoted husbands and wives, that all family relations are closer when the big affairs of the city, the state, and the nation are matters of equal importance to all the adults of the household?

"You gentlemen have done many things federally during the last year that have never been done before. You have federally conscripted the sons of the nation—and that was right. You have federally taxed the incomes of men and women, and again your action has been most commendable. Less than three weeks ago you did your part toward overcoming one of the greatest evils of all times, the drink evil, and you did it as a nation. So why should you hesitate to take federal action on the next issue of right and justice that is coming up for your consideration? Surely this is a place where consistency would be a jewel.

"The women of the enfranchised states, moreover, at this time are feeling another phase of this matter. The things we hold most dear in life, our sons for whom we have suffered and worked and loved, are having to go forth to face conditions which make us tremble even to think of. In the face of the wrongs committed by our dastardly enemy, we would be ashamed not to have them go. We, however, believe our great President when he says that we have entered the war for two purposes—to make the world safe for democracy, and that war may end. This last reason is the great hope that is burning in the hearts of men and women.

"The opinion is constantly growing in the hearts of thoughtful women of our race that war will never cease until the women of all lands sit in the councils of all countries with their men and have an equal voice in the conduct of their affairs. Women have paid such a price for the lives of the race that they will find a way to prevent the ghastly waste of life.

"I had the pleasure recently of meeting a nurse who had returned from the front. She had been caring for the poor wounded lads in a monastery which had been turned into a hospital in France. She said that during the daytime they were so brave, so uncomplaining, so debonair, but during the long watches of the night, when restraint was thrown off, she had learned one word in seven different languages. And that word was 'Mother.'

"Our world is wounded, sick, and weary, and if you will listen in the night, you will hear the same cry. The mother thought, the mother instinct, the mother initiative is needed in the councils of the world, for in no other way will war be done away with."

Millions of mothers on both sides of the sea whose sons are in the trenches fighting for democracy spoke through Mrs. Allen. As never before they want a chance in world councils.

Democratic Control of Chairmanships in Jeopardy

Cantrill. of Kentucky, Cautions

REPRESENTATIVE JAMES C. CANTRILL of Kentucky told all the world on January 6th that he thinks the failure of the ten Southern states to vote for the adoption of the Federal Suffrage Amendment would mean political suicide for Southern Democrats. He pointed out that ten Southern states were now in control of thirty-one of the sixty committee chairmanships in the House. Four of these ten states control eighteen of the thirty-one chairmanships. That the South would like to keep this control goes without saying.

"But it won't be able to do so in face of the opposition it will encounter, if these ten Southern states vote almost solidly against the Federal suffrage amendment," said Representative Cantrill. "These ten Southern states have only 110 electoral votes as against 193 electoral votes possessed by the eighteen states that have given women the suffrage for Presidential Electors.

CALLS POLICY SHORT-SIGHTED.

"Now, for these ten Southern states to vote almost solidly against the suffrage amendment, as it is reported that they intend doing, would, in my opinion, be a very grave political mistake. The South has everything to lose by such a short-sighted policy. The eighteen suffrage states have thirty-six senators, while the ten Southern states which are reported as being against the suffrage amendment have only twenty senators. The fact that the Congress is now almost evenly divided between the Democratic and Republican parties, it seems to me, should force Democratic members from the South to give heed to the situation.

"This statement is based on the supposition that each Democrat in Congress is looking to the welfare of his party in the nation, and that he will not be governed by local conditions in his own district. Conditions often arise where the Member of Congress must look beyond the confines of his own district and take a stand for those things which are for the good of the Democratic party in the nation and for the good of the nation itself.

"The public discussion recently of the national woman suffrage amendment has brought to the surface the fact that the Republican leaders in Congress are doing everything in their power to line up the full Republican vote in Congress for this amendment. I sincerely hope that the Democrats in Congress are alive to the situation and that they will not permit the Republican party to get any political advantage from the passage of this amendment.

"I speak as a Southern Democrat, who expects to vote for the suffrage amendment. The Democratic party is now in control of all branches of the Federal Government. Almost every committee assignment, so far as the chairmanships are concerned, is held by Southern Democrats, who thus practically dictate the legislation of the nation. We have this control, as everyone knows, because the woman suffrage states in the last Presidential election voted almost solidly for Democratic electors and candidates.

"For the Democratic Party in Congress to vote against the states that gave them this power would, in my humble opinion, be political suicide. For the Southern Democrats in Congress to say to the millions of patriotic women of the nation that suffrage shall not be given them would bring down upon our heads such condemnation from the suffrage states that we would be driven from power.

CITES REPUBLICANS' ATTITUDE.

"Why should we not view the situation as our Republican friends are doing and line up for the passage of the amendment? If this plan is pursued, then the suffrage question cannot be made a political and partisan issue. On the other hand, the Democratic party cannot go into the campaign next year with any hope of success with a large Republican vote in Congress in favor of the suffrage amendment and a large Democratic vote in Congress against the amendment.

"How can we of the South expect the confidence of the nation in controlling the great committees of Congress unless we are willing to trust millions of citizens in suffrage and non-suffrage states who are asking us at this time to show our confidence in them by granting the right of suffrage to millions of sincere, intelligent and patriotic women? The men who are in the trenches carrying the burden of this war, when they were given the chance to vote on the question of woman suffrage, voted two to one in favor of it. If the boys in the trenches, who every day risk their lives for the national defense, are willing to trust the women to vote as to their welfare, certainly the men who are fighting the war behind mahogany desks can trust the American women with the ballot."

Beating Them To It

"WILL the Democrats let the Republicans get away with it?" That was the question that buzzed about Capitol Hill as the vote on the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment drew near. Senator Henry F. Hollis of New Hampshire, a Democrat, referring to a well-recognized Republican move that got under way to pass the amendment by Republican votes, paused to call attention, in his incisive way, to his own party's opportunity—and likewise its danger.

"If the Republican platform had been for national woman suffrage in 1916, Judge Hughes would have been elected," said Senator Hollis. "Draw your own conclusion about the next campaign." And he added, "Our Republican friends are not slow to show their eagerness to enforce democracy at home by completing the citizenship of women. Why should the Democrats permit the Republicans to beat them to it? What woman suffrage by states was to the peace policy of the Democratic party in 1916, national woman suffrage is to-day to the war policy of the country.

"I AM a Democrat, representing in the Senate the only Eastern state that voted for President Wilson in 1916. I was with Senator Walsh of Montana at Democratic Headquarters in Chicago in that campaign. I stayed with the Democratic platform from its first draft till I finished reading it to the St. Louis convention.

"The woman suffrage plank was not in the first draft of the Democratic platform of 1916; it was not recommended to the full Committee on Resolutions by the sub-committee that conducted hearings. The senator who cast the deciding vote against it in sub-committee is now ready to vote for the Anthony amendment.

"But the full Committee on Resolutions put the suffrage plank into the platform, and there it stayed, though the only contest in the Democratic convention.

"And it stayed there because of a very forceful and practical speech by Senator Walsh of Montana, who showed to the convention that the Democratic party would need the votes of states having woman suffrage in order to re-elect President Wilson. Our experience at Democratic Headquarters in Chicago in the campaign, and the result of the election, showed that his position was sound. No party could have elected a President in 1916 without an endorsement of woman suffrage in its platform.

"But, you say, that plank was not for National suffrage, but for suffrage in the states. Very true. And my answer is that Judge Hughes would have been elected if the Republican platform had been for national woman suffrage. You may draw your own conclusion about the next campaign.

"THE world has moved since 1916. The Democrats carried the country in that year on woman suffrage by states and President Wilson's peace policy. We have now entered the greatest war of all time to make the world safe for democracy, safe for majority rule as opposer to kaiser rule, or autocracy. We are determined that the peace of the world shall not depend hereafter upon the whims or ambitions or quarrels of a few individuals.

"What woman suffrage by states was to the peace policy of the Democratic party in 1916, national woman suffrage is to-day to the war policy of the country. The world is not safe for democracy unless the people rule the world. And no nation can consistently fight as the champion of world democracy unless it has first become itself a genuine democracy, granting to all people, irrespective of sex, the privilege of the ballot. I do not say the right of the ballot, because woman has always had the *right* to vote; she has merely lacked the *power* to *enforce* the right.

"It seems to me that a great opportunity lies before the party which has advanced in a single year from a policy of peace to a policy of war to enforce democracy throughout the world. Our Republican friends are not slow to show their eagerness to enforce democracy at home by completing the citizenship of women. Why should the Democrats permit the Republicans to beat them to it?"

With the Wadsworthians

MR. EVERETT P. WHEELER, the anti perennial of New York, was all but swept off his feet by the storm of applause that greeted one of his remarks before the House Suffrage Committee last week. The applause was from suffragists. And the remark, which seemed to leave Mr. Wheeler wondering why he made it, was this:

"*God Almighty never gave anybody the right to govern anybody else.*"

The South, the West and the Federal Amendment

Mrs. Dudley Lays Ghost for Southern Congressmen

WASHINGTON, January 3.—Mrs. Guilford Dudley, of Nashville, Tennessee, president of the Tennessee Equal Suffrage Association, and 3d vice-president of the National Suffrage Association, and one of the speakers at the hearing on the federal woman suffrage amendment before the House Committee on Woman Suffrage this morning, said in part:

"I wonder if you have any conception of the intense feeling of humiliation Southern women experience when they discover that the greatest opposition to the submission of our Federal Suffrage Amendment to the states comes from Southern representatives in Congress? More than any women in the world, we have had the praise of words. Our wisdom, our goodness, our courage, these things have been sung to and of us, but when it comes to the faith of deeds, we are beginning to wonder if, after all, some Southern men may not consider us less worthy than the women of other sections.

"They have withheld our enfranchisement for two reasons which we for a time accepted—the state rights doctrine and the negro problem. From the state rights ground of opposition the Southern men have themselves retreated, and we now stand face to face with this bare and ugly alternative: Either our men feel that they can not trust us with the ballot, or we must feel that we can not trust their sense of justice.

"As to the negro problem, the women of the South feel that the time has come to lay, once and for all, this old, old ghost which still stalks through the halls of Congress. This phantom has outlived its time, even for what is known, in the South, as a 'hant.' In the 15 states south of Mason and Dixon's line, the excess of white women alone over 21 years of age above all negro men and women of like age is 1,122,477. There are only two Southern states where the negro race is more than 50 per cent. of the population. In South Carolina the per cent. of negroes, according to the federal census of 1910, was 55.2. In this state voters must be able to read and they must own and pay taxes on $300 worth of property. In Mississippi the per cent. of negroes is 56.2, and there voters must be able to read the Constitution. The other four states of the so-called Black Belt also impose an educational test.

"In the eight years since the census was taken, the percentage given has been materially reduced in both the states mentioned, so that South Carolina claims that there is no longer any preponderancy of negroes. The increase in the negro population in the last decade is 11.2 per cent. The increase in the white population is 22.3 per cent., or twice that of the negro population.

"Furthermore, during the past year alone 75,000 negroes have left one Southern state to go North, and 73,000 have gone from three others. In view of this fact, it appears that we might transfer a share of our rather hysterical anxieties with regard to the menace of the negro vote to other states.

"It is true that there are some counties in the South where the negroes greatly predominate. But it is also true that in those counties there is a greater degree of illiteracy, and the educational qualification operates to exclude this vote. There is no need to fear that the Southern men and women of today will not know how to uphold the integrity of their government. We are not living in the reconstruction period, but in the year of Our Lord 1918. The horrors of that old period are past, never to be revived. The only possible approach to it might come through the failure to give the white women of the South the power of the ballot. When our husbands and brothers are going forth to fight for democracy, we must not only assume their tasks at home, but we must bear the more sacred burden of cherishing the ideals of government for which they have offered their lives, in order that their sacrifice may not be in vain."

Memorial to the 65th Congress of the United States

IN view of the fact that one-quarter of the states of the Union have now extended full suffrage to woman, and

In view of the fact that since the war began suffrage has been granted or pledged to the women of Canada, Great Britain, Russia and France, and

In view of the fact that every state and country which has tried woman suffrage gives unanimous evidence that the women voters have proved a positive force for good,

We, the undersigned, believe that when the world is fighting for Democracy—"the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government"—the time has come to take steps insuring political freedom to the women of the entire United States and we therefore unite in asking the Sixty-fifth Congress to submit a Federal Suffrage Amendment to be ratified by the legislatures of the several states.

(Signed by)

CHARLES H. BROUGH,
Governor of Arkansas,
TOM J. TERRALL, Secretary of State,
Little Rock, Ark.
R. G. McDANIEL, State Treasurer,
Little Rock, Ark.
JNO. D. ARBUCKLE, Attorney General,
Little Rock, Ark.
TOM M. NUHAFFY,
Pres. Constitutional Convention,
Little Rock, Ark.
CHARLES E. TAYLOR, Mayor,
Little Rock, Ark.

A Worth While New Year's Resolution

ONE of the first acts of the Indiana State Council of Defense was to put itself on record for the Federal Amendment. It passed such a resolution in response to a telegram from Charles W. Fairbanks, ex-Vice President of the United States and Chairman of the Council's Committee on Public Policy. His message read: "I am not in favor of any legislation upon woman suffrage as a war measure, but I am enthusiastically in favor of it, as I always have been, as a matter of sheer right and common justice."

Ratification Chances

A BATTERY of telegrams urging the passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, and indicating the chances of ratification by the several states, was received by Mrs. Catt from state governors during the last days before the House vote. Manifestly the amendment can start with a goodly number of states in the ratification column. Governor Whitman spoke early for New York. Governor Lister was sure Washington Legislature would ratify such amendment if passed by Congress. He called attention to the fact that Washington had passed a joint memorial asking Congress to submit the amendment. Governor Stuart of Montana wired "I hope Federal amendment will pass. Montana favors woman suffrage."

From Wyoming, the state that has had the largest experience with woman suffrage, came the following: "After forty-nine years of experience with woman suffrage, Wyoming enthusiastically and unqualifiedly may recommend the adoption by the nation of the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment." Governor Gunter, of Colorado, wired: "Woman suffrage has been very beneficial to the state of Colorado and its citizenship. I think it a just and wise move to extend the right of suffrage to the women of the nation."

The Governor of Kansas, Arthur Capper, testified that "Woman suffrage has been an unqualified success in Kansas. I hope Congress will pass the Federal Suffrage Amendment and give the women of the nation the right to vote—a right which should never have been denied them."

Governor Boyle said Nevada's people "want to see suffrage established nationwide as part of Federal Constitution."

"Idaho is in favor of national enfranchisement of our women. It is in favor of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, woman suffrage having worked in Idaho so satisfactorily that we believe its benefits should be nationwide," wired Governor Alexander.

Oregon's Governor, James Withycombe, wired that he was a strong advocate of the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

"The Utah legislature by unanimous vote recommended the adoption of an amendment to the national constitution granting woman suffrage. I heartily concur in this recommendation and feel that such an amendment will be favorably acted upon by Congress," read the telegram signed by Governor Simon Bamberger.

Curves

MRS. WADSWORTH introduced to the Woman Suffrage Committee a pluperfect patriot statistician named Eichelberger, who presented a scheme of curves whereby he sought to prove that pro-Germanism and socialism and suffrage all bulged coincidently in the New York vote on woman suffrage.

It was a mathematical calculation, he explained.

Had he figures to sustain it, the Committee wanted to know.

"No, he didn't have actual figures, but he had estimates that represented the vote in different districts if the voters had voted that way. Also he had those curves."

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The South for the Amendment

THE Kentucky Equal Rights Association has pledged itself to raise sufficient funds to purchase an ambulance to be presented to the Red Cross, for use on the European battle front. This action was taken at the annual convention of the association, held at Lexington. The ambulance will be named the Laura Clay Ambulance in honor of Miss Laura Clay, pioneer suffragist and for many years president of the Kentucky association.

PLANKS in the platform endorsed by the convention were as follows: The Kentucky Association reaffirmed its belief in the justice and right of equal suffrage, urged the Kentucky members in Congress to vote for the Federal Amendment; endorsed efforts to repress the social evil; approved of measures designed for the protection of women; expressed the opinion that although the association adopted a non-partisan attitude it would not prevent the members from working against a candidate opposed to suffrage; urged the enactment of a bill for presidential suffrage in all states, and approved of the campaign to abolish the liquor traffic.

The raising of funds for campaign work was assigned Mrs. Desha Breckenridge, who had the assistance of Congresswoman Jeannette Rankin, one of the speakers at the convention. Two thousand dollars was raised.

Mrs. Nellie McClung was also a speaker at the convention, and a pageant of the full suffrage states was a feature of the program.

Mrs. Thomas Jefferson Smith, of Kentucky, recording secretary of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, brought greetings from the national body.

The growth of the Kentucky Equal Rights Association was shown in the report of the president, Mrs. John Glover South, who told of a number of new leagues formed and of the extension of the educational campaign work. The association has done a large amount of patriotic work under the leadership of Mrs. South.

THE Delaware Equal Suffrage Association in convention at Newport passed a strong resolution in regard to the Federal Amendment, drawing the attention of their congressmen and senators to the fact that now is the psychological moment to push the amendment and to work for its immediate passage.

The association expressed its thanks to Gov. J. G. Townsend for the stand he has taken in favor of suffrage. Equal pay for equal work and a resolution against the lengthening of the working hours of women were other matters given strong endorsement.

A pledge of $500 to the National American Woman Suffrage Association shows the increase in suffrage work and sentiment in that state, the former pledge having been $50.

Miss Agnes Y. Downey of Wilmington was re-elected state president. The staff elected includes: First vice-president, Mrs. Albert Robin; second vice-president, Mrs. J. Frank Ball; third vice-president, Mrs. A. D. Warner; recording secretary, Miss Elizabeth Gawthrop; treasurer, Miss Ella Johnson; first auditor, Miss Mary R. de Vou; second auditor, Mrs. George Newcombe.

THE suffrage movement in Mississippi received a big impetus recently when the Mississippi Federation of Women's Clubs adopted a resolution endorsing suffrage for the women of Mississippi. The federated clubs represent progressive women from all parts of the state, women active along educational and philanthropic lines. It is a signal evidence of the universal appeal made by suffrage that the state federation has taken this important forward step. It represents the increasing strength of suffrage in the Southern States. Mrs. Edward F. McGehee, president of the Woman Suffrage Association of Mississippi, is active in club circles, having been state club president.

WHEN the drive for a million dollars for suffrage was inaugurated at the Atlantic City convention, Georgia was apportioned $5,000 as her share. Georgia has raised $5,285.

The officers elected for 1917-1918 are as follows: President, Mrs. F. P. MacIntire, Savannah; first vice-president, Mrs. S. B. C. Morgan, Savannah; second vice-president, Mrs. C. C. Harrold, Macon; treasurer, Miss Marie Minis, Savannah; recording secretary, Miss Dora Freeman, Greenville; corresponding secretary, Mrs. Philip Ballinger, Savannah; auditor, Miss Annie G. Wright, Augusta; congressional chairman, Mrs. Emily C. McDougald, Atlanta.

Have You Been Enfranchised Lately?

THE second article of this series, on the Enabling Law and the First Vote, has been delayed on account of difficulty in obtaining a copy of the draft of the proposed Enabling Act for New York. This article will appear next week.

In the meantime something may be said in regard to facilities in New York for education in citizenship. Courses have begun at the New York State Woman Suffrage Party, and a course of six weekly lectures designed mainly for those who desire themselves to teach voters is under way at the New York City Party Headquarters. A very comprehensive correspondence course is offered by William H. Allen, Director of the Institute for Public Service.

Under the auspices of the Women's Division of the Republican Party, 43 West 39th Street, a course of half a dozen simple lectures is offered on Federal, state and local government, party organization and the machinery of voting. One Community Centre (the Patrick Henry Centre) has started weekly evening lectures for women voters, and the Federation of Neighborhood Associations is announced as planning a series of the same simple type of lectures to be given at various places in New York. The Americanization Committee and the Naturalization Aid League plan to instruct voters. Three college courses—Regents, Hunter and Barnard—are planned, and the Woman's City Club, in cooperation with the Woman's Municipal League, announces a series. Space needed for the hearings at Washington make it impossible to print a review of recent civics books prepared for this week.

Hearings Before House Committee

(*Continued from page* 131)

not tell what is going to come in the long life ahead of you.

Mr. Clark: And I will ask you, Yankee fashion, what do women need to be protected against?

Mrs. Catt: Men. (Laughter.)

Dealing with the charge that woman suffrage represents a vote which cannot be trusted in time of war, Mrs. Catt called attention to certain facts in connection with our country. "We have, or had in 1910, two million more men in the country than we had women. We have had in this country a great increase in naturalization since the war began. There were a great many foreigners who were afraid that they would be conscripted by their home government, who made haste to take out their naturalization papers. They are not patriotic. They are not loyal to this country. They are seeking protection for themselves. When an election is to be held, as it will be ere long, it must be remembered that we are taking a step which our allies have not taken. England has had no election, except what they call bye-elections, when somebody dies or resigns, where they have an election in one district. The House of Commons has voted several times to postpone the election for another six months.

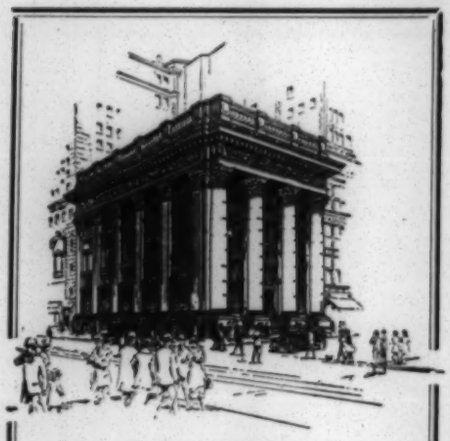
"In a democratic country like ours we can hardly avoid it. The election will come. We have in the state of New York 130,000 men in camps, either in this country or in France. The state of New York took every precaution to give these men an opportunity to vote. It sent delegates to England and France to secure the votes, but you cannot get the vote of men who are off on various kinds of pilgrimages or who are making tours through the air, you canot secure that vote. Out of the 130,000, twenty-six thousand actually voted, that is, one fifth of the total number. Probably that would be as good a proportion as the whole country could get in securing the soldiers' vote. We have not been told how many men we have in France, but we have been told that within a few months it is expected and hoped that we shall have at least a million men over on the other side. When the election comes, who is going to do the voting? Every slacker has a vote. Every newly made citizen will have a vote. Every pro-German who can not be trusted with any kind of military or war service will have a vote. Every peace-at-any-price man, every conscientious objector, and even the alien enemy will have a vote. You will not secure anything more than a majority at best of the soldiers in Europe. It is a test, a risk, which no other country has been asked to take. The women here who belong to the families of the men on the other side cannot be called disloyal. There actually is at least one and probably more than one woman in a family of every man who goes on the other side who is going to use her vote to back every preparation of the war, every condition which is going to make it easier and safer for him, and every condition which is going to bring the war to a successful end, if she has the opportunity to cast a loyal vote. It is a risk, a danger to a country like ours to send one million men out of the country who are loyal and not to replace those men by the loyal votes of the women they have left at home.

"There are still, I think, eight of the original thirteen states, where foreigners may secure the vote on their first papers. It would be possible even to colonize in such states and to carry an election if it was necessary, because it means only a brief residence. For example, in the state of South Dakota there is a group of counties wherein there are the kind of people who were originally Germans and who went to Russia to live two hundred years ago. They left Germany because of conscription and they left Russia because of conscription, and they came to America because there was not any conscription. They went to South Dakota and Nebraska and North Dakota to live. Those counties cast an overwhelming vote against woman suffrage. In South Dakota they do not have to have naturalization. They can vote on their first papers. Those counties defeated the suffrage amendment. Now in those counties there has been a larger number, in proportion to the population, of slackers, I believe, than in any other county in the country, and yet in those counties all of that population will have the vote when the next election takes place.

"It may be said that if the women vote they are the wives of these men. Yes, that is true, but there are a million more men than women. It is said that before this war is over, if it should continue long, an effort will be made, and successfully, to submit the question of conscription to a popular vote, and there are those that say they cannot trust women with conscription. The only advantage of conscription is that it catches every class and kind, and that it prevents the higher classes, with a just conviction of patriotism and duty, from bearing all the burdens. You may be assured that the women who have their sons and their husbands in the war are not going to vote against conscription when conscription is in the interest of their husbands and their sons. (Applause.)

"It seems to me the most curious thing in the world how men lose their faith and their confidence in their women whenever there is a test. Women are human beings with the same intelligence, the same comprehension of honor, the same understanding in this war that the men have. They are in it to win it. They can be trusted as men can be trusted, but the country is not safe without their votes."

(*Continued on page* 137)



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Hearings Before House Committee

(*Continued from page* 136)

COMMENTS AND ANSWERS AT COMMITTEE HEARINGS ABOUT MISREPRESENTING PRESIDENT WILSON

"I HOLD in my hand a pamphlet which I am told was distributed in Congress this morning, coming from the opposition, in which there are quotations from President Wilson, and it says upon the cover 'I still believe it is a matter to be fought out in the individual states.' The date is 1914. Since 1914 the world has changed. Mr. Asquith has been converted. (Applause.) He was the most implacable enemy of woman suffrage the world ever saw. And no quotation from any living man in 1914 is justified in 1918 without confirmation. (Applause.)

"I do not know what President Wilson will say. It is said here that it is reported by suffragists that Mr. Wilson is going to use his influence with Members of Congress, and the canards that these people are circulating about the President are not only insulting to him but to every Member of Congress. I agree with that. Our Constitution provides three divisions of our Government, the judiciary, the executive, which is the President and his cabinet; the legislative, which is Congress, and I do not believe it was ever intended by the writers of the Constitution, or by any political party or body, that the President of the United States should control the legislation of Congress. It is a question of responsibility for Congress and Congress alone. That the President has a tremendous influence over the men of his party is agreed, since in one sense he is their leader.

"He has not spoken on this question, but since 1914 I have myself had three interviews with him, and upon each and every one of those occasions I, and those who were with me, presented to him facts and reasons why we did not propose to continue our efforts to get the vote by state means, and I believe that in every instance we made an impression upon Mr. Wilson and that his attitude was changed after every one of those interviews. Mr. Wilson has not told us that he is for the Federal Amendment; I have my own opinion as to what his attitude is, but, Mr. Chairman, I make a request, and I make this as the only request of this Committee, for I know you are going to give us a favorable opinion: When the opposition comes to you and every Member of Congress and says, as they do in quotations in this book, that the President of the United States is opposed to a Federal Amendment, it becomes the duty of everybody interested in that Federal Amendment to find out how much truth there is in it. It was the right of Mr. Wilson to withhold his opinion, but I ask you, Mr. Chairman, to ask the President for a conference and a hearing, and I ask you to go, Republicans and Democrats, if you like, and say 'Mr. President, are you or are you not for the Federal Amendment?' Then you will know. Do not take it from the opposition; do not take it from us, but go find out what he says. If he says he is for it, then ask him how far he can help it; if he says he is against it, then let me remind you that it is not his function anyhow to pass the legislation. (Laughter and applause.) I trust that you will do so, and that if it is possible to make a statement do it. If Mr. Wilson does not want a statement made, you will know what he thinks, and you will know more than any other human being puts out in print about it."

"IT WOULD MAKE US FIGHTING MAD"

"NOW, a gentleman this morning asked a question as to how we would like the idea of having the question submitted to conventions, which the Federal Constitution provides for. The reason why we do not want that method is because that has never been tried. The Constitution provides for it, but we now have seventeen amendments, and none of them has ever been submitted through that process. In the states where women have the vote there would be no question about securing conventions properly pledged to it, for the reason that they could vote for the members of those conventions. Then, again, it would merely take a longer time; it would take more money on the part of the states; it would take more money on the part of both the opponents and friends of suffrage, and it would need, before it could be carried out, a machinery which would require extra legislation and a great deal of additional trouble. If any Member of Congress shall propose such an amendment or such a condition for our amendment, that it be referred to the conventions which are constitutional and which are provided for in our national document—if such a proposal is made I ask this: How do you think you will like the news to travel all the way around the world, to France, to England, Canada, Sweden and Italy, where they are pledged to give woman suffrage, that the Congress of the United States finally submited the question to the states, but took a method which had never been tried before, because they believed it was a harder method. (Applause.) Does the mother of Democracy want to hace athing like that written into her history? It was asked how we would like it, and I answer it would make us fighting mad."

Southern Suffragists Roused

(*Continued from page* 132)

Anglo-Saxon blood and unquestioned loyalty—is far greater than the total undesirable vote in the South. Are we women, who by our votes might save the situation, to be left powerless to protect by our ballots either ourselves or our men who have gone to France? The passage of the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment is necessary for the protection of this country."

"A vote against suffrage is a vote for Germany," is the way Mrs. Elizabeth Herndon Potter, of Tyler, Texas, congressional chairman for her state, put the matter. "Do you know that thousands of aliens vote in the United States after a residence of only two years?" Mrs. Potter wanted to know. "In Arkansas, Delaware, Indiana, Kansas, Missouri, Nebraska, South Dakota, and Texas aliens after conformity to state election laws *vote on first papers.* These aliens, who cannot fight for us, are given a vote to elect our congressmen, our governors, our presidents. In Missouri and Texas one man in six is foreign-born. In Nebraska one in three. In South Dakota one in two. These alien voters are not subject to the draft unless they have filed final naturalization papers, which many never do.

"Will the American people, with the vision of a unified democracy, see this great mass of voters, whose loyalty is in doubt, determine our policies and do nothing to counteract this sure invasion of American democracy? The votes of entire towns and districts are Teutonic in sympathy. In the Southwest, Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico, the votes of thousands of illiterate Mexican peons are easily exploitable.

"American men cannot afford to be blind. They must equip American women with ballots as the best guns in defense of the nation."

ASKS UNDERWOOD IF HE SPEAKS FOR PRESIDENT?

Washington, January 8.—Determined to test the truth of a persistent report that Senator Underwood of Alabama is working against the Federal Suffrage Amendment as a representative of the Administration, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, has sent the following letter to Senator Underwood:

"My Dear Sir:

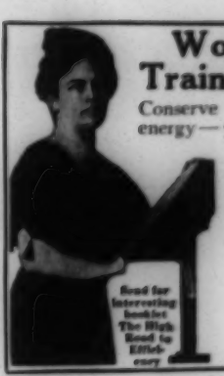
"I have received a telegram from Alabama saying that it is rumored there that you are working in Washington against the Federal Suffrage Amendment as a representative of the Administration. The same rumor has reached us from Washington sources. Will you kindly inform me whether you do represent the Administration in your work against the Federal Amendment? In view of the fact that Secretaries McAdoo, Baker and Daniels have expressed their hope that the amendment will pass, it is difficult to believe that you do.

"Do you represent the President?

"Very truly yours,

"CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.

"President National American Woman Suffrage Association."



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Cabinet Officials Lined Up for Federal Suffrage Amendment

SECRETARY McADOO openly committed himself to the Federal Suffrage Amendment prior to the vote in the House on Thursday.

In language that went straight to the crux of the question, he wrote to Mrs. Catt, that the Federal Amendment was the only effective method, "and the only method, in fact, that will secure equality of rights for women in every state of the Union."

The Secretary's commitment came in response to Mrs. Catt's appeal to him for help in clearing up the question of the stand of members of the Administration on the Federal Amendment. In her letter to the Secretary, under date of January 7, Mrs. Catt said, "It is with sincere appreciation of what you have done for the suffrage cause in the past that I come to you to ask a special favor at this crucial hour. Nothing that you have ever done, or ever can do for suffrage, has been, or will be, comparable with the value of your influence in behalf of the Federal Suffrage Amendment at this juncture. I hope very much that you can find it possible to strengthen our case by some sort of personal commitment on the subject of the Amendment, if you can do nothing else. May I hope for this?"

The full text of the Secretary's letter follows:

"My dear Mrs. Catt:

"I have your kind note of the 7th instant, asking for my support of the Federal Amendment for Woman Suffrage.

"The Democratic and Republican Parties each declared in their national convention in 1916 in favor of Woman Suffrage. They recognized the fundamental justice of woman's demand for equal civil rights with men. Why should the representatives of these great parties in the Congress of the United States hesitate or refuse to adopt the only method by which this act of fundamental justice can be made effective in all the States of our great democracy? Once it is conceded that women should have the right of suffrage in a democracy like ours, it seems to me incumbent upon both political parties to adopt that method which will most certainly secure the result. The Federal Amendment is the only effective method and the only method, in fact, that will secure equality of rights for women in every State of the Union.

"I, therefore, favor the Federal Amendment for Woman Suffrage. I earnestly hope that the Congress will enact the necessary legislation and thus put it within the power of the States to do through the Federal Constitution what, in my judgment, justice and democratic ideals imperatively demand.

"With all good wishes for the success of your efforts, I am

"Cordially yours,
"W. G. McADOO."

The Secretary of the Navy is equally self-committal on the subject of the amendment. He writes Mrs. Catt, "I am strongly in favor of submitting the amendment and settling this question in the right way as soon as possible, the sooner the better."

Pointing out that the necessity of complete unification of all the forces of the Republic has been emphasized by the demands the war is making on it, Secretary Daniels stresses the fact that:

"The country depends upon the women as well as the men. They have responded nobly and efficiently, ready to co-operate more fully as increasing man power is sent to the front.

"Admitted that equal suffrage is right, and that it has been demonstrated that the Republic is strengthened by woman's participation, there only remains the question of how it shall be conferred. Twelve states have conferred this right upon their women. Now it is asked that a referendum of the question, in the shape of an amendment to the Constitution, be submitted in the manner prescribed by the Constitution itself. I can see nothing in this except hastening the coming of a reform which ought to come, and which all, advocates and opponents, know is sure to come. Why delay?

"I am strongly in favor of submitting the amendment now and settling this question in the right way as soon as possible, the sooner the better.

"Sincerely yours,
"JOSEPHUS DANIELS."

ADD the following resolutions to your individual list for 1918:

I

I WILL help in the drive to increase the WOMAN CITIZEN circulation to ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND.

II

I WILL become a subscriber to the WOMAN CITIZEN at once.

III

I WILL renew my subscription to the WOMAN CITIZEN.

IV

I WILL secure at least one new subscriber to the WOMAN CITIZEN.

V

I WILL interest my friends and acquaintances in the WOMAN CITIZEN by directing their attention to certain important articles published in it.

VI

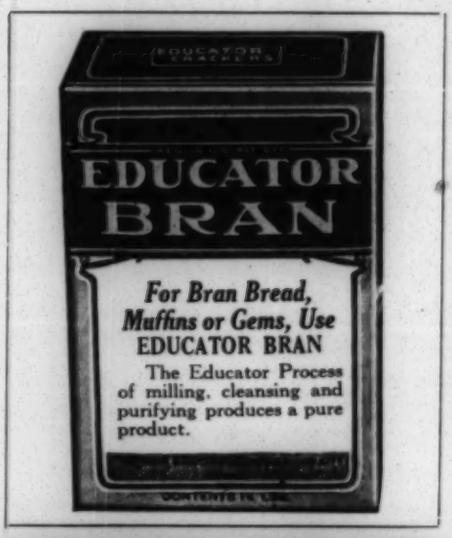
I WILL tell others about the leading part the WOMAN CITIZEN will play in educating the woman voter.

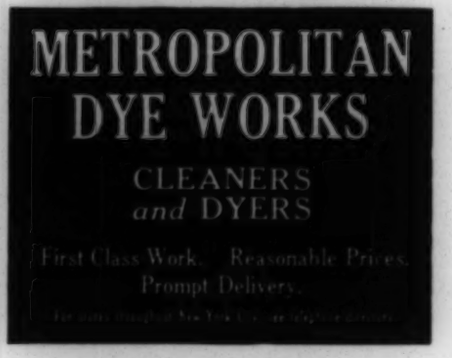
VII

I WILL ask my local bookseller and news dealer to give prominent place in his shop or on his news-stand to the WOMAN CITIZEN.

VIII

I WILL learn if the WOMAN CITIZEN is in the reading room of my local library, and if it is subscribed to by the principal local women's clubs; if it is not I shall make it my business to see that it can be found in these places.


EDUCATOR BRAN
For Bran Bread, Muffins or Gems, Use
EDUCATOR BRAN
The Educator Process of milling, cleansing and purifying produces a pure product.



Home of Suffrage Party

(*Continued from page* 129)

to the excitement and activity of a strenuous campaign the work of transferring their lares and penates to other quarters.

IN the vaulted ceilings and quaint arched doorways of the former home of the J. Sergeant Crams, the City Party has found convenient accommodations, although every inch of space in the large house has been requisitioned. With that effective citizen, Mabel Russell, in charge, it was a foregone conclusion that the popular feature of the suffrage quarters on Thirty-fourth street, the restaurant, should be open and ready for business within a short time after the move was accomplished. The spacious dining-room with its four large windows offers an inviting place for the business woman or the tired shopper to lunch. An appetizing lunch is served for 30 cents. The reception room and a large butler's pantry are the only other rooms on the first floor. A winding stairway, placed well at the back of the hall, has a carved walnut balustrade. On the second floor at the rear are situated the offices of Miss Mary Garrett Hay, chairman of the City Party, and Mrs. Charles Tiffany, chairman of Manhattan Borough. The front is given over to an assembly room of impressive dimensions. On the third floor are the offices of the Council of Women Voters of which Mrs. Adolph Borri is Chairman and Mrs. John Blair Executive Secretary and the Secretarial office of Miss Adaline Sterling, formerly of the *Woman Voter*.

Mrs. Oreola Haskell, press chairman, has her office on the fourth floor with two large rooms for stenographers, addressers and clerks.

THE WILLIAMS PRINTING COMPANY, NEW YORK

Table Linen Opportunities *for* January

Reg. Trade Mark

Special lots of high-grade Damasks at prices based on costs of a year or more ago when they were purchased. In many cases these are priced at less than present cost of manufacture.

Lot No. I.—Over one hundred designs, mostly from our regular stock.

Napkins—$3.00, 3.65, 4.00, 4.50, 5.25, 6.00 up to 42.50 per dozen.

Table Cloths—

2 x 2 yds, $4.00, 4.50, 5.25 to 16.00
2 x 2½ yds, $5.00, 5.85, 6.50 to 19.00
2 x 3 yds, $7.25, 7.75, 8.00 to 23.00
2 x 4 yds, $10.00, 13.50, 14.00 to 32.00
2¼ x 2¼ yds, $5.25, 7.25, 7.50 to 20.50
2½ x 2½ yds, $6.75, 7.75, 8.00 to 30.00
2½ x 3 yds, $9.75, 10.00, 11.50 to 37.00
2½ x 4 yds, $14.00, 17.00, 19.00 to 49.50

Lot No. II.—Twenty good designs in fine hand-made Irish Damask.

Napkins—$8.25, 10.00, 11.25 to 36.00 per dozen.

Table Cloths—

2 x 2 yds, $6.50, 7.50, 7.75 to 15.00
2 x 2½ yds, $9.25, 10.25 to 19.00
2 x 3 yds, $12.50, 12.75 to 23.00
2¼ x 2¼ yds, $9.75, 11.50 to 14.50
2½ x 2½ yds, $12.00, 12.25 to 30.00
2½ x 3 yds, $14.50, 15.75 to 37.00
2½ x 4 yds, $20.75, 28.75, 31.50

All our regular stock of over five hundred designs at prices much below the current market prices.

Orders by mail given special attention.

James McCutcheon & Co., 5th Avenue and 34th Street, New York

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You will keep the present circulation of the WOMAN CITIZEN from slipping back one if you remain a subscriber, you will save forty cents for yourself with very little effort, but best of all you will help in the drive we are making for

ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND NEW SUBSCRIBERS

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